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MERUTUNGA ĀCĀRYA

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT BY

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P R E F A C E

Khagga andhacintāmāṇi belongs to a class of compositions, the existence of which, to a certain extent, blunt the edge of the reproach frequently inst in Sanskrit literature, that, with the single exception of the *Tirokuddaṭ*, there is to be found in it no work meriting the title of his-
Uragapetavā. True this reproach was the lifelong aspiration of the late Dr. Bühler. Professor Jolly, in the interesting obituary of Setissakavattīe wrote for the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, *Sumedhā* (7th letter of Bühler's addressed to Nöldeke in 1877, "You will find the age with your notion that the Indians have no *Vessantara Jāṭhe*. In the last 20 years, five fairly voluminous works have been recovered, emanating from authors contemporary with the events they describe. Four of them I have discovered myself, viz., *Sāñcīcāmāṅkadevacarita*, *Gauḍavaho*, *Pr̥thvirājādigvijaya* and *Kirtikaumudi*. There are on the track of more than a dozen more."¹ It is owing to Professor Bühler's exertions that so many of these chronicles, historical poems, and historical romances have been edited. It was at his suggestion that I took the present translation, and it will be evident to any one, who took the trouble to read my notes, that, without his assistance and encouragement, it would never have been able to "pass the ferry backward into life." It was his intention to write full historical and geographical notes which would have greatly enhanced its value. But this, unfortunately, must now be numbered among the many projects whelmed by "that blind perfidious bark, which sank so low that sacred head."

In connection with Indian historical literature, and especially that bearing on the history of Gujarāt, another name must occur to every British reader, that of Alexander Kinloch Forbes, author of the *Rās Mālā*. His *Rās Mālā* has been written by Mr. A. J. Nairne, B.C.S., and it will be found in Colonel Watson's edition of the *Rās Mālā*, published in 1878. Forbes belonged to a class of Indian civilians deeply interested in the

¹ It appears from the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for March, 1900, p. 70 and ff., that Mahāmahopūdhyāya Hara Prasād Čāstrī, M.A., has found a MS. named *Rāmapālācarita*, by Sandhyākara Nandi, giving an account of Rāmapāla, king of Gauḍa, who succeeded his father, Vigrahapāla, in 1080.

history, literature and antiquities of the people among whom their lot was cast. His careful and conscientious study of these subjects is apparent in every page of the Rās Mālā. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi is one of the many sources from which that work was compiled. So complete was the use that he made of this chronicle, that in the course of writing my own translation, it often occurred to me that I was engaged in an unnecessary labour. My justification must be that, as I was informed by Professor Bühler, Mr. Forbes himself often expressed the wish that the Prabandhacintāmaṇi might be translated. Besides, I flatter myself that not only students of Indian history, but folklorists and anthropologists may take interest in the quaint traditions recorded by this medieval Jain monk, which lose half their charm when paraphrased or summarized. He himself tells us that his principal object is to amuse, and confesses that the stories he has been able to gather about persons and events are frequently inconsistent. Moreover, as Dr. Johnson, when composing the Parliamentary Debates in a garret in Exeter Street, took care "that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it,"¹ so this zealous Jain has an evident leaning in all doubtful cases towards the votaries of the orthodox faith of Mahāvīra, and takes care that they shall not suffer in comparison with the worshippers of Cīva. Professor Bühler puts the matter very clearly in the following words, "The objects with which the Caritas and Prabandhas were composed, were to edify the Jain community, to convince them of the glory and power of the Jain religion, or, in cases where the subject is a purely secular one, to provide them with an agreeable entertainment." It is therefore useless to expect from these writers a Thucydidean narrative, or the mature wisdom of Tacitus. Bühler, in fact, places the Jain chroniclers, in point of credibility, below the medieval European and Arab chroniclers. He warns us that they are to be used with the greatest caution. But, at the same time, he reminds us that their testimony is often confirmed by inscriptions and other evidence of a trustworthy kind.

"In particular, must it be admitted that the persons introduced in the older, as well as in the more recent narratives, are really historical characters. Although it is frequently the case that an individual is introduced at a period earlier or later than that to which he really belonged, or that the most absurd stories are told with regard to him, yet there is no case forthcoming in which we could affirm with certainty that a man named by these chroniclers is a pure figment of the imagination. On the contrary, nearly every freshly discovered inscription, every collection of old manuscripts, and every really historical work that is brought to light, furnishes confirmation of the actual existence of one or other of the characters de-

¹ Boswell's Life of Johnson, Vol. I. p. 103. (Macmillan and Co., 1900.)

scribed by them. In the same way all exact dates given by them deserve the most careful attention. When they are found to agree in two works of this class, that are independent of one another, they may, without hesitation, be accepted as historically correct."¹

In estimating the comparative value of the various narratives contained in the following work, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact, that those dealing with individuals, preceding the time of the author by a century or two, deserve more credence than those embodying traditions about more remote epochs. Merutunga, of Vardhamānapura or Vādhvān, completed his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, according to the date given in Dīnānātha's edition, in the year 1361 of the era of Vikramāditya. Kumārapāla died in 1229 of the same era. It is, therefore, hardly too much to suppose that Merutunga's account of Kumārapāla and his successors is based upon respectable oral tradition.

By this I do not mean to imply that our author had no documents before him. His statements at the commencement of his work seem to imply that he had. I think, however, that he has quoted even the *Kirtikaumudī* of Someçvara from memory. He certainly not only misquotes, but misunderstands that poet.

The section dealing with the life of Vikramāditya, though it has no claim to be called historical, possesses an interest of its own. It may be compared with the Jain recension of the *Sīnhāsanadvātrīmīcikā* so exhaustively discussed by Professor Weber in the XVth volume of the *Indische Studien*, and the account given of the same monarch in the *Prabandhakosha*. In accordance with their custom of annexing all the heroes of Indian tradition, the Jains maintain that Vikramāditya was converted to the Jain faith by Siddhasena.² The story of Cālivāhana is treated on much the same principle as that of Siddhasena. I would fain hope that these sections may be of some interest to the folklorist and the student of religion, but I cannot flatter myself that they possess any solid historical value.³

We seem to approach the domain of historical tradition with the founding of the city of Añahillapura, or Añhilwād, in the 802nd year of the era of Vikramāditya, which corresponds to 746 A.D. Miss Duff (Mrs. Rickmers) in her *Chronology of India*, seems to accept this date given by Merutunga, and also the tradition of the Ratnamālā that Vanarāja was the son of Jayaçekhara of Pañcācara. The most that can be said for

¹ Bühler, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra, p. 6.

² See, in my translation of the *Kathā Koça*, p. 191, the note furnished by the great Jain teacher Ātmārām Muni. In the XVIIIth Book of the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, the adventures of Vikramāditya are related from the Hindu point of view.

³ But Forbes, who misses nothing or very little, when describing on pages 190, 191, of the *Rās Mālā*, the swinging bed on which the king of Gujarat slept, was indebted to the Vikramāditya section of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 4.

Merutunga's support of this genealogy is, that his narrative is not inconsistent with it. If we adopt this tradition of the Ratnamālā, given by Forbes in the Rās Mālā, we may, perhaps, conclude that the name of his maternal uncle, who lived the life of a bandit, was Cūrapāla (Soorpal).

The story of the founding of Anahillapura or Anhilwād, belongs to a class of legends, which might appropriately be termed "the city foundation cycle." The animal, with which the foundation of this city is connected by our author, is a hare. One is irresistibly reminded of the legend of Aeneas. I quote from Arnold's history of Rome, Vol. I. p. 2, "The Trojans, when they had brought their gods on shore, began to sacrifice. But the victim, a milk-white sow, just ready to farrow, broke from the priests and their ministers, and fled away. Aeneas followed her, for an oracle had told him that a four-footed beast should guide him to the spot where he was to build his city." It is unnecessary to pursue the story further, but we should, perhaps, be justified in comparing the Jāli-tree with the Ficus Ruminalis.¹ In the same way Cadmus was commanded by the oracle at Delphi to follow a cow of a certain kind, and to build a city on the spot where the cow should sink down from fatigue.² Athens also, had its horse and its olive, not to mention the owl. Perhaps the wolf, "the thunder-stricken nurse of Rome," belongs to the same cycle. So the first beginnings of the new city, "founded with Jain mantras," as the pious chronicler tells us, may, after all, be more closely connected with the worship of trees and animals than with the formulas of Mahāvīra.

As indicated in my note on page 22 of the following translation, the story of the three pilgrims, who paid a visit to king Bhūyadadeva, does not find favour with modern critics. Bühler gives his opinion in the following words, "I think Merutunga's whole narrative must be rejected, as an invention of the bards, who wished to join together, in a convenient manner, the histories of their Cāpotkaṭa and Caulukya rulers.³ Miss Duff's chronological note runs as follows, "A.D. 941, V. Samvat 998. Mūlarāja I. son of Rāji of Kalyāṇa (probably Kanauj) conquers Gujarāt and founds there the Caulukya or Solājkī dynasty of Anhilwād: reigns till A.D. 996." Possibly, the inventors of this romantic tale may have wished to explain

¹ It would, perhaps, be going too far to compare Vanarāja (the forest king) with Silvius.

² Andrew Lang (Custom and Myth, p. 114) quotes from Strabo a story to this effect—"That emigrants had set out in prehistoric times from Crete. The oracle advised them to settle 'wherever they were attacked by the children of the soil.' At Hamaxitus in the Troad they were assailed in the night by mice, which ate all that was edible of their armour and bowstrings. The colonists made up their minds that these mice were 'the children of the soil,' settled there, and adored the mouse Apollo."

³ Bühler, however, seems disposed to concede that Mūlarāja's mother may have been a Cāpotkaṭa. For the bards of Gujarat, see Rās Mālā (Watson's edition) pp. 558-61.

the proverbial phrase “a Cāpotkaṭa’s gift.” We may leave the question as it now stands, with the hope that some inscription may soon be discovered, which will clear the matter up.

Mūlarāja’s victories over Bārapa and Lakṣa, the king of Kach, are mentioned by Arisiṁha. The retirement of Mūlarāja before Bārapa and Vigraharāja to Kanthkoṭ derives some support from a grant published by Bühler in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI., p. 180 and ff.¹ The testimony of the poet Someçvara (KK. ii. 3 and 4) is to the same effect, as far as regards the ultimate triumph of Mūlarāja, but the preliminary retirement is not mentioned.

The section of the Prabandhacintāmanī dealing with the history of Muñja contains at least one historical fact, that Muñja, or Vākpatirāja II.,² carried on war for a long time with Tailapa II., the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa, and was at last conquered by him and put to death. Bühler has shown that of this execution there can be little doubt, as two Cālukya inscriptions boast of it. Moreover, Rudrāditya was really his minister, as he is mentioned in the grant of 979 A.D. “The fact that Vākpatirāja or Muñja was put to death by Tailapa II. makes it possible, with the aid of a notice in a Jain work, to fix, within narrow limits, the time when his campaign took place and his reign came to an end. Amitagati finished his Subhāśitaratnasandoha in V.S. 1050 or 993-94 A.D., in the reign of king Muñja,³ and Tailapa II. died shortly before, or actually in, the Çaka year 919, i.e. 997-998 A.D., which is the first year of his successor. The death of Muñja, therefore, must have taken place in one of the three years 994-996. The beginning of his reign must be fixed before V.S. 1031 or 974 A.D., the date of his first grant of land, but, as we have before remarked, cannot be far removed from that date.”⁴

The portion of this section that describes Tailapa’s treatment of Muñja, when in captivity, possesses a poetical, rather than a historical, truth. But there is a strange pathos in the romantic story told by Merutunga. Even, if we do not accept the details, we may be satisfied that Merutunga’s account contains nothing which his readers would consider improbable, and that, therefore, the picture, which he gives of the life and manners of the Indian princes of the time, represents substantial truth. Moreover, king Muñja’s boast before his execution, that by his death Sarasvatī would be left without a support, rests on a solid basis of fact. Not only did he patronize Padmagupta, who wrote the Navasāhasrākacarita in praise of

¹ See particularly p. 184. For Arisiṁha’s testimony, see Bühler, *Das Sukritasam-kirtana des Arisiṁha*, p. 11.

² For his other names see note on p. 30 of my translation.

³ See also Miss Duff’s *Chronology of India*, p. 102.

⁴ Bühler und Zachariae, *Navasāhasrākacarita*, p. 44.

his successor, and Dhanapāla, who flourished under him and not under Bhoja, as Merutunga erroneously states, but Dhānañjaya and his brother Dhanika, of whom the first wrote the Daçarūpa, while the second commented on it. Halāyudha also, the commentator on Pingala's work, lived according to his own statement (Subhaśitāvali, p. 115) under the sway of this prince. That he was himself a poet rests not only on the fact that Merutunga and the other authors of Prabandhas, and also the compilers of anthologies ascribe to him verses, but a stanza is given as his by Kṣemendra, who wrote about fifty years after his death.¹

About few kings of India have more myths accumulated than about Bhoja or Bhojadēva, the famous Paramāra sovereign of Dhārā. We must, therefore, not be surprised to find that, in giving an account of his treatment in early youth by his uncle, Merutunga at once falls into the mythopoeic vein. The oft-repeated story of the wicked uncle Muñja must, to begin with, be relegated to the domain of folk-lore, and with it must go all Merutunga's statements with regard to Sindhurāja or Sindhula, which remind one of a tale in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara. As a matter of fact, he succeeded his brother Muñja, and though he may, occasionally, have been on bad terms with him, it is obvious that he was not confined in a wooden cage, or deprived of his eyes.² The reign of this prince may be described in the words of Miss Duff,—“Sindhurāja, Navasāhasāñka, or Kumāranārāyaṇa, Paramāra of Mālava, conquered a king of the Hūṇas, a prince of the Koçalas, the inhabitants of Vāgada and Lāṭa, and the Muralas; wedded the Nāga princess Çāçiprabhā, probably of the race of the Nāga Kṣatriyas; had for his chief minister Yaçobhāṭa-Ramāngada.”³ It would appear that he was by no means successful in his war against the Caulukya king of Gujarāt, Cāmuṇḍarāja, if Merutunga is correct in his statement that this king died of small-pox while investing the fortifications of Dhārā.

The section of our author's work, dealing with Bhoja and Bhima, may be looked at from two points of view. It is in the first place a storehouse of mythical legends with regard to Bhoja, the reputed author of the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhabharaṇa and other works, who is supposed to have been surrounded by a galaxy of poets; and in the second place it is a political history of the two kingdoms of Mālava and Gujarāt, under two rival sovereigns. The history of king Bhoja's relations with his literary *coterie* sets chronology at defiance. Of the poets with whom he is associated by Merutunga, Rājaçekhara flourished under Mahendrapāla of Kanauj (A.D. 903-7) and his son Mahipāla (A.D. 917); Dhanapāla, as before remarked, flourished

¹ See Bühler und Zachariæ, Navasāhasāñkacārīta p. 42; Miss Duff, Chronology of India, p. 100.

² See Bühler und Zachariæ, Navasāhasāñkacārīta, p. 45 and ff.

³ Chronology of India, p. 102.

under Muñja ; while Bāṇa and Mayūra and Mānatunga are generally held to have been contemporaries of the great Harsavardhana of Thānesar, and Kanauj. Māgha, whatever his date may have been, probably lived before the time of king Bhoja.

No one, who considers the history of king Bhīma as detailed in this section, can help being struck by one remarkable omission. Nothing is said about the capture of Somanātha Pattana by Mahmūd of Ghazni, though this event appears to have taken place in 1026 A.D., according to Miss Duff's Chronology of India, four years after Bhīma's accession. Perhaps Merutunga omits to mention this disaster from patriotic motives, though Bhīma is said to have displayed great courage on the occasion. He does not scruple to mention the sacking of Añhilwād by Kulacandra, though he accounts for it by the absence of Bhīma in Sindh, and treats it as a mere raid. Forbes seems to accept as historical Bhīma's visit to Bhoja's court in disguise, which is admirably related by Merutunga. At length the standing enmity between the Caulukyas of Gujarāt and the Paramāras of Mālava, which is ascribed by Merutunga to Muñja's ill-treatment of Durlabha, took a tragic turn for king Bhoja. Bhīma allied himself with Karṇa of Dāhala, which is probably equivalent to Cedi or Bandelkhaṇḍ,¹ and with his help overpowered Bhoja. This statement of Merutunga's is supported by the Kirtikaumudi, the Sukṛtasajkirtana, and by Kumārapāla's Vāṇnagar *pracasti*.² There seems to be some doubt as to how Bhoja met with his end. Someçvara seems to imply that Bhīma spared his life.³ Miss Duff tells us that the exact date of his death is unknown. The date given by Merutunga for the accession of Karṇa, the son of Bhīma, is accepted by Miss Duff. The statement of this author, that this king was married to Mayāñalladevī, daughter of Jayakeçin, is, according to the same authority, confirmed by Hemacandra and Abhayatilaka. This Jayakeçin is supposed to be Jayakeçin I. of the Kādamba family of Goa. Merutunga's account of Karṇa is meagre, though he mentions his public works, but he takes great interest in his son and successor Jayasimha or Siddharāja, probably because in his reign the great Jain teacher Hemacandra first comes into prominence. It would appear that Siddharāja was not only a great conqueror, who captured Yaçovarman, king of Mālava, and reduced Varvaraka, apparently the leader of a non-Aryan tribe, to the position of an obedient vassal, but also took great interest in literature and religion. His court-poet, we learn from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, was Ārīpāla, but he appears to have favoured other literary men. Though he was a professed votary of Civa, the god of his family, he seems to have been somewhat latitudi-

¹ Bühler's introduction to his edition of the Vikramāñgakadevacarita, p. 18.

² Chronology of India, p. 112.

³ See the couplet quoted in the note to p. 71 of my translation.

narian in his religious views, and, like Akbar, to have taken pleasure in controversies between the adherents of rival creeds. Hemacandra, no doubt, gained his favour, at first, by his literary eminence, and subsequently made good use of his gifts as a courtier to advocate the claims of his own faith. On the whole, there can be little doubt that Merutunga's picture of Siddharāja's court is true to life. It is possible to feel doubt about particular incidents, which are omitted or related in a slightly different form by other authorities, but not to doubt the main effect of our author's narrative.¹ Moreover, it is impossible to doubt that Hemacandra composed his well-known grammar at the request of Siddharāja, and it is, at least, probable that he took part in the famous discussion between Devasūri and Hemacandra, though this discussion may have taken place at an earlier date than that assigned to it by Merutunga.

The section dealing with the life of king Kumārapāla, the Paramārhatā, must have been a labour of love to the Jain chronicler. This being the case, it is painful to have to point out that Bühler convicts him of a gross anachronism at the outset.² It is difficult to believe that Hemacandra was introduced to Kumārapāla by Udayana. According to Merutunga's own statement, Udayana migrated into Gujarāt shortly after the commencement of the reign of Siddharāja, that is to say, about 1150 V.S. But Kumārapāla succeeded his great uncle in 1199 V.S. It is obvious that Udayana cannot have been long employed under the latter monarch, even if he was alive in his reign. Merutunga is also guilty of an inaccuracy in asserting that Hemacandra recommended Kumārapāla to restore the temple of Somanātha at Devapattana. For an inscription in the temple of Bhadrakāli, at Devapattana, dated Valabhī-Samvat 1850, or V.S. 1225, expressly states that the Gāndā Br̥haspati, who had already been in great favour with Jayasimha, induced Kumārapāla to rebuild the ruined temple. This is intrinsically more probable than Merutunga's tale. As it appears that Merutunga's story about the introduction of Hemacandra to Kumārapāla is not to be trusted, suspicion is also cast upon our author's account of their earlier relations.

It is evident that Kumārapāla was engaged in war with Arṇorāja shortly after he ascended the throne.³ This alone would make it probable that Kumārapāla's acquaintance with Hemacandra and his conversion to

¹ The stories told by Merutunga, Jinamandana, the author of the Kumārapālacarita, and the authors of the Prabhāvakacaritra are compared and critically examined by Bühler in his essay, "Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra."

² Bühler's Hemacandra, p. 29.

³ Miss Duff tells us that Kumārapāla conquered Mālava and defeated Arṇorāja in or shortly before V.S. 1207 (A.D. 1151). I may here mention that the same authority accepts as historical the defeat of Mallikārjuna by his general Āmbada.

the Jaina faith took place at a later date than is represented by Merutunga.

The exact date of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism is inferred by Bühler from a passage in Yacahpūla's drama, the *Mohaparājaya*. In this play the king's conversion is allegorically represented as his marriage with Kṛpāsundari (beautiful compassion), the daughter of Dharmarāja and Viratidēvi, and Hemacandra is mentioned as the priest that blessed the union. The date of the marriage is given as V.S. 1216.¹ As the *Mohaparājaya* was written shortly after the death of Kumārapāla, this date may be accepted as correct. Bühler would place the introduction of Hemacandra to Kumārapāla about two years earlier.

Whatever may be thought of Merutunga's dates, or Bühler's rectification of them, there can be no doubt that Kumārapāla was practically converted to Jainism, and set himself to make Gujarāt a model Jain state. Under the guidance of Hemacandra, he not only denied himself the enjoyments and amusements forbidden by the Jain law, but he compelled his subjects to practise similar self-denial. He promulgated an edict which enjoined abstention from the taking of animal life in the widest sense of the term, and which was most strictly enforced in every part of his dominions. The Brahmans, who immolated animals at their sacrifices, were ordered to give up the practice and to substitute corn. Even in Pallideça, in Rajputana, people were compelled to obey this edict, and the ascetics of that country, who clothed themselves with the skins of antelopes, found great difficulty in procuring them. The consequence was that, as we are told in the *Mahāvīracarita*, the *Pāṇḍurangas* (i.e. the votaries of Civa) had to live like born Ārāvakas. The prohibition of the chase, of which the above-mentioned work speaks, was the obvious result of this edict, and even the inhabitants of Pañcāladeça, that is, of middle Kāthiawād, who had been terrible sinners in this respect, were obliged to submit to it. A further consequence of it was the measure against butchers, of which we read in the *Dvīāçraya Kāvya*. They had to give up their trade, and received compensation to the amount of three years' income.²

The absurd extent to which Kumārapāla carried his tenderness for animal life, is shown by the ridiculous story of the Yūkāvihāra, told by Merutunga.³ Such are the melancholy results that follow, when philosophers and literary men, like Hemacandra, are in a position to control the government of a nation. A less objectionable result was the prohibition of spirituous drinks, dice-playing, animal combats and betting, which, according to Bühler, is vouched for by two of the Jain authorities. But the people

¹ The same date is given in a story which forms an appendix to MSS. P and a. In this story the lady is called Ahimsā, the daughter of Ārimadharhaddharma by Anukampādevi.

² Bühler's Hemacandra, page 39.

³ See page 143 of my translation.

of Gujarat were no more ripe for this advanced legislation in the twelfth century than the people of Great Britain were in the nineteenth. Another instance of the conscientiousness of Kumārapāla is related by Merutunga. He determined to forego the income derived from confiscating the property of those of his subjects, who died leaving widows,¹ but no son. Bühler points out that this practice, though contrary to the Smṛtis, prevailed in many parts of India, notably in the west. Accordingly, it is alluded to by Kālidāsa, who was a native of Mālava, which borders on Gujarat, in his *Abhijñānaśākuntala*.

Though Kumārapāla was, no doubt, a conscientious follower of the Jain discipline, he managed to combine with it a lurking regard for Śiva, the family god of the Caulukyas of Gujarat. This halting between two or more opinions in religion has been characteristic of many Indian sovereigns. Bühler in his essay on the life of Hemacandra, and Cowell and Thomas, in their translation of the *Śrīhārṣacarita*, ascribe this liberality of view to the famous Harṣavardhana of Thānesar and Kanauj. "He was the Akbar of the Hindu period of Indian history; and under his wise toleration the adherents of the contending religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, seemed to forget their divisions in a common feeling of loyalty, just as Rajputs and Muhammadans served Akbar with equal devotion."² Bühler thinks that Kumārapāla was compelled to show some consideration for the orthodox party because some of his courtiers and ministers belonged to it.³ It would seem from Merutunga's narrative that even Hemacandra was not ashamed to bow himself in the house of Somanātha in the company of his sovereign.⁴ He probably excused himself on the ground that his object was to win over, by a pious fraud, Kumārapāla to the Jain faith.⁵ The friendship between the sage and the monarch, which was brought about by the similarity of their religious views, seems to have been sincere, resembling that between Fronto and Marcus Aurelius.

Merutunga's description of the closing scene of Kumārapāla's life is full of genuine pathos.⁶ But, unfortunately, the parallel between the Roman Stoic and the Indian Paramārhata holds good in another particular. As Aurelius looked forward to the day when his courtiers would congratulate

¹ See page 133 of my translation.

² *Harṣacarita* of Būna, translated by Cowell and Thomas, Preface, pages viii. and ix.

³ I think, however, that Kapardin was clearly a Jain, in spite of Bühler's doubts. See page 152 of my translation. On another point I should presume to differ from the *guru*. I should compare the story of the priests of Kanthācvara (H.C. pp. 45, 46) to that of the priests of Bel in the *Apocrypha*. The parallel is very close.

⁴ Page 131 of my translation.

⁵ Bühler (H.C. p. 29) is justly severe upon "die Uebertölpelung des Königs durch einen Hokus-Pokus," which he declares to be quite after the manner of Jain missionaries.

⁶ Page 151 of my translation.

themselves on "being rid of this pedagogue,"¹ so Kumārapāla, if he had been able to foresee the future, might have beheld his most faithful followers tortured and slain, and his temples broken down by his nephew Ajayapāla,² who is pictured by the Jain writers as an Indian Commodus. But some excuse may be found for Ajayapāla's severity in the tradition that the Jain party in the state had wished to exclude him from the throne, in favour of Pratāpamalla, the son of Kumārapāla's daughter, who was sound in the Jain faith. It is clear that, on Ajayapāla's accession, a reaction in favour of the religion of Civa set in. Merutunga tells us that Ajayapāla was stabbed by a door-keeper, and, like another religious persecutor, was eaten of worms.³

Merutunga drops no hint which might guide us as to his opinion on the character of Bhimadeva II. He mentions an abortive invasion of Gujarat by Sohadā of Mālava, and a subsequent successful invasion by his son Arjunadeva. Bhīma does not seem to have been a very capable monarch, and it used to be supposed that Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Viradhabala rebelled against him, and established an independent sovereignty at Dholka about A.D. 1219. This view was put forward by Bühler in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI., page 187 and ff., and is adopted by Miss Duff in her "Chronology of India. But Merutunga lends no support to this view. He speaks of Lavaṇaprasāda as the vicegerent of Bhīma. Bühler in his *Sukṛtasāṅkīrtana* of Arisimha, p. 21 and ff., retracts his former view. He is of opinion that recent discoveries make it doubtful whether Lavaṇaprasāda ever rebelled against Bhīma. Not only the statements of Arisimha, but the terms of a grant dated V.S. 1288, in a book called *Lekhapancāčikā*, discovered by Dr. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, show that Lavaṇaprasāda recognized Bhīma II., outwardly at any rate, as his over-lord. Professor Kāthavāṭe is very near the mark when he compares the attitude of Lavaṇaprasāda towards Bhīma, with that of the Peshvās towards the court of Satārā.⁴ The fact that Merutunga takes such interest in Lavaṇaprasāda is, no doubt, in great measure to be ascribed to the discretion which he showed in choosing the famous Jain brothers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla for his ministers. Though pious Jains, they were, like Amrabhaṭa, the follower of Kumārapāla, men of action. Moreover, they seem to have shown a becoming regard for learned men. It was, apparently, on account of his patronage of poets and pāṇḍits that Vastupāla was called the younger Bhoja.

The story of Vastupāla's pilgrimage is also told by Arisimha and Some-

¹ Αναπρεύσωμέν ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ. *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, X. 36.

² See the practical protest of the jester Sila (p. 151 of my translation).

³ Cp. II. Maccabees, IX. 9.

⁴ Introduction to Kāthavāṭe's edition of the *Kirtikaumudi*, p. xxv.

gvāra. They fill in details which Merutunga has overlooked. Vastupāla, as leader of the pilgrimage, seems to have provided the poorer pilgrims not only with protection, but also with conveyances and food. Here Kāthavāja's remarks are very much to the point,—“When there were no made roads, when pilgrims had to pass through the territories of neighbouring princes, bearing all varieties of relations one to another, and when bands of marauders were more numerous than peaceful travellers, whenever a great man undertook a pilgrimage, all the intending pilgrims in the neighbourhood and poor people unable to bear the expense of the journey flocked together under the wings of this great man, who then considered himself responsible for protecting them against the dangers of the way, and for supplying their wants.”¹ Arisiinha, in his account of Vastupāla's pilgrimage, tells us that this pious leader of the Jain religious caravan went so far as to provide medicines and physicians for any pilgrims that might happen to fall sick. His benevolence seems to have known no bounds. We read that a halt was made at Kāsahraḍa, and a feast held in the temple of Rṣabha. When the foot of Ćatruñjaya was reached, Vastupāla made a great encampment, and distributed presents, principally of food, to all the needy among his followers. Bühler gives the following summary of Arisiinha's description of Vastupāla's visit to this holy mountain :—“The ascent of the mountain took place the morning after his arrival. The first sanctuary that the pilgrims visited was that of the Yakṣa Kapardin. Vastupāla worshipped the Yakṣa and sang a hymn in his praise. Then he hastened to the temple of Ādinātha (Rṣabha), whither the majority of the pilgrims followed him in dense crowds. Vastupāla, still covered with the dust of the journey, fell down before the lord of the Jinas, and adored him with a hymn of praise. Then, and not till then, did he indulge in ablutions, whereupon the pilgrims followed his example, and he and they approached the *Caitya* with dancing and song. Then he washed the image, in accordance with due prescription, with saffron-water, and anointed it with musk, and hung garlands round it. The pilgrims, at the same time, burned so much incense, that the temple was completely darkened by the fumes, and finally the Ārātrika was performed by the waving of lights in front of the image.”²

In a note to page 136, I quoted, to illustrate the description of the setting up of the finial on the temple of Suvrata by Āmrabhaṭa, an extract from a communication made to the *Times of India* of April 13th, 1889, by Mr. A. Cousens. I now proceed to lay this interesting narrative once

¹ Note on Someçvara's Kirtikaumudi, IX. 2.

² Bühler's Arisiinha, p. 26. With regard to the washing of the image cp. Forbes's Rās Mālā (Watson's edition), pp. 596-8. The washing of the image is common to Jains and Hindoos.

more under contribution in connection with Arisimha's and Merutunga's descriptions of Vastupāla's pilgrimage. After describing his ascent of the hill in company with gaily-dressed crowds of pilgrims, and his entry into the sacred precincts, Mr. Cousens proceeds to give an account of the scene in front of that very lord of the Jinas whom Vastupāla adored. "Within the temple are men, women and children, with a sprinkling of Yatis, sitting, kneeling, or standing, all more or less engaged in reciting or chanting their sacred hymns, while on the brass stands before them they lay their offerings, and mark out with grains of rice the sacred symbols. In the shrine, whose brazen doors stand open, on the high throne sits, in solid marble effigy, the great R̄shabha or Ādinātha. With legs crossed, and hands lying in listless repose in his lap, he sits there with a placid, contemplative expression, adorned with great garlands of pink roses. Small hanging lamps lend an additional subdued and mysterious light, while backwards and forwards move the picturesque forms of the *pūjaris*. On special occasions the image is laden with its jewels, and these are both magnificent and costly. A massive crown adorns his brow, an ample breast-plate with heavy armlets and wristlets further embellishes his person, and all these are richly wrought in gold, thickly set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls; and the rich necklaces of pearls are enough of themselves to make the feminine mind envious. It is said that this jewellery is valued at four lakhs of rupees; it is kept in a strong room on the hill."

It appears from Mr. Cousens's narrative that the enthusiasm of the Jain pilgrims to Ćatruñjaya has by no means died out in modern times. In some points there is a change. The pilgrims no longer pass the night upon the hill, though we read that Vastupāla's stay there lasted eight days. Moreover the establishment of the *pax Britannica* has rendered an armed escort unnecessary for pilgrims, and though some of the antiquated pieces of ordnance, formerly used to defend the shrines, may still be seen on the hill, and the strong gates of the enclosures still remain, the fortifications are not armed and guarded, as in the old days, when the land swarmed with marauders.

Both Arisimha and Someçvara assert that Vastupāla travelled to Girnar and the temple of Somanātha. Arisimha describes his worship in the temple of Neminātha, on Girnar, with much detail, but as the rites do not differ materially from those performed in the shrine of Ādinātha, it is, perhaps, hardly worth while to reproduce his statements.

The account given by Merutunga is not so clear, but there is a substantial agreement between all three writers.

With the death of Vastupāla, Merutunga brings to an end that part of his work which may be looked upon as a continuous narrative.

The miscellaneous chapter is, as its name imports, a collection of disconnected anecdotes. The account of the destruction of Valabhī¹ is, to a certain extent, supported by the testimony of Alberuni, and may, possibly, be partly historical. But the episode of Ranka, and his daughter's fateful comb, savours strongly of the story of Count Julian and his daughter, which is, I believe, not accepted in all its details by sober historians. Miss Duff considers that the Mlechhas were Muhammadans, and that they came from Sindh under 'Amru Ibn Jamal. The Mlechhas were also instrumental in causing the death of Jayacandra of Benares, according to Merutunga.² It is not difficult to identify this sovereign. According to Miss Duff, in the year 1194 "Quṭbu-d-Din, leaving Delhi, crosses the Jūn and takes the fort of Kol after an obstinate resistance. Later in the same year he aids Mu'izzu-d-Din in defeating Jayacandra of Benares and Kanauj, and capturing his fort of Asnī." It appears that Jayacandra met his death on this occasion. He was the last of the Rāṭhor dynasty of Kanauj. Another prince overthrown and killed by the Mlechhas was the well-known Pr̥thvīrāja. Of this monarch Merutunga relates in the first place that he defeated Paramardideva. This king, who has left, according to Miss Duff, numerous inscriptions, appears to be the Candella sovereign who succeeded his father Madanavarman in 1167. This sovereign was, according to the same authority, defeated by the Cāhamāna king Pr̥thvīrāja in 1182. This date is based upon inscriptions. The following account is given of Pr̥thvīrāja's final overthrow in 1192:—"Mu'izzu-d-Din, returning to Hindustan, again encounters Pr̥thvīrāja and his allies near Thānesar, and totally defeats them, thus becoming virtually master of the country. Pr̥thvīrāja, being captured, is put to death, and his son appointed governor of Ajmir." Much will be found about Pr̥thvīrāja in Forbes's Rās Mālā, Elphinstone's History of India and other works, but my present object is to show that Merutunga's statements are, on the whole, not at variance with the testimony of inscriptions and of Muhammadan historians.

The king, Laksmaṇasena, of Gauḍa, who had for a minister Umāpatidhara, may possibly have been the Vaidya king of Bengal, who founded the Laksmaṇasena era in 1119. Tradition has it that Jayadeva, the author of the Gītā Govinda, flourished under a king of that name.³ I have pointed out⁴ that a poet of the name of Umāpatidhara is mentioned in the fourth stanza of the Gītā Govinda. There can be no doubt that the poet and the minister who admonished his king in verse are identical.

¹ Pages 172-176 of my translation.

² Pages 183-186 of my translation.

³ Indian Chronology, p. 136.

⁴ In my note on p. 181. [The poetical claims of Umāpatidhara have been considered by Professor Pischel in his pamphlet, *Die Hofdichter des Laksmaṇasena*, Göttingen, 1893, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 13. I owe my introduction to this pamphlet to Professor Zacharia. I wish I had known of it sooner.]

There is little else in the miscellaneous section that can properly be called historical. Many of the tales belong to the great mass of edifying anecdote that seems to have been at the disposal of the Jain community, consisting principally of old Indian legends, skilfully adapted by Jain teachers for the moral improvement of the faithful. The fact that Indian folklore, principally in my opinion the folklore of Eastern India, was so adapted, by no means deprives the stories of their interest for students of that new science, the importance of which is, perhaps, greater than some people suppose; and the fact that Jain chroniclers delicately manipulated history, with the object of putting Jain kings and Jain ministers in a favourable light, should not prevent readers from receiving their descriptions as a faithful picture of the social and political condition of the times in which they lived. Moreover, it seems to be demonstrated by the testimony of grants and inscriptions that many of their statements are literally accurate.¹ Much has been done already towards revealing this new world of literature to the Indian public,² and it is to be hoped that the young Sanskrit scholars of India will not rest until all the works that have any claim to the title of history are edited and translated.

I have used, in making this translation, three MSS., one lent to me by the kindness of the Bombay Government, No. 617 of 1885-86,³ my collation of which I call P, in honour of the late Dr. Peterson, and Nos. 296 and 297, belonging to the collection which the late Hofrath Bühler presented to the India Office, which I call α and β respectively.

Of the first MS. Dr. Peterson writes in his second report (pp. 86-87).

"I will close these hurried notes with the announcement that in the end of the year I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of Merutunga's Pra-bandhacintāmaṇi, a work of great historical importance, which we have been long endeavouring to add to our collection. I have placed this copy in Pandit Bhagwān Lāl's hands, for whose forthcoming history of Guzārāt it was very necessary, and that learned scholar has furnished me with the following account of it for the purpose of this report:—

"‘Folios 81. Slokas 3004. MS. about 200 years old. Generally correct. Character Jain Nāgari. This is a rare book. The late Mr. A. K. Forbes obtained a copy of it through a merchant named Vircandji Bhandārī. (Compare preface in Forbes's Rās Mālā.) This copy was presented by Mr. Forbes to the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, but is now missing.

¹ The chronology of India, by Miss C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers), renders it an easy matter to bring Merutunga's anecdotes in contact with the touchstone of documentary history. It seems to me, personally, that the importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated.

² I take this opportunity of expressing my respectful admiration of the work of Gastrī Rāmacandra Dīnānātha, and of Professor Kāthavarāṭe, the learned editor of the Kirtikaumudi.

³ The figure 3 in note 1 on the second page of my translation is a misprint for 7.

Much of it has been used by Mr. Forbes in his *Rās Mālā*. The author is Merutunga, who finished it at Wadhwān on the Vaiçākha full moon of Sāvat 1362."

To these remarks I will only add that the MS. contains thirteen lines in a page.

It will be seen, from a various reading given by Dīnānātha in a note to page 323 of his edition, that there is some doubt about the exact date of the completion of the work, but the discrepancy seems to me to be of no practical importance.¹

MS. No. 296 of the Bühler collection in the India Office Library was transcribed from a copy belonging to Mr. Umāçankar Vajñik. It contains 276 pages. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* really ends on page 272. The remaining pages contain a story, which is also found in the Bombay Government MS. No. 617.

There is an unfortunate hiatus in the middle of this MS. The text breaks off after the words *jātipicūnaiḥ kṛpā*² (page 160 of Dīnānātha's edition) and recommences with the words *athānyadā Karṇameruprāsāde* (p. 175).

MS. No. 297 is a copy of a Bhatner MS. which the late Hofrath Bühler had copied for Government in 1874. It is defective at the beginning, commencing with the words *Samajani niḥceśarājagunapuṇjamunjalasya* *Grīmuṇjasya* (p. 55 of Dīnānātha's edition). It contains 284 pages. Both of these copies are inferior in correctness to No. 617 of 1885-86.

¹ See Bühler, Über des Loben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra, pp. 4 and 54.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

NOTES sent to me by Professor Leumann are distinguished by (L.) ; those sent by Professor Zachariae by (Z.) ; those furnished by Mr. F. W. Thomas by (Th.) ; those sent by Dr. Fleet by (F.).

Page xvi., line 15, for "Rāthōr" read "Gāhaḍavāla (F.).

Page 1, line 3, for "Rshabha" read "Rśabha."

Add to note 1.—See Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. during the year 1883-84, page 138. Bhāṇḍārkar, in his account of the Rśimāṇḍalaprakaranavṛtti, tells us that "Āryarakṣita arranged the subject-matter of the sacred literature into four divisions, viz, Kālikācūra, Rśibhāṣitas, Sūryaprajñapti [and others] and Drṣṭivāda. [The first consisting of the 11 Āngas and including Mahākalpačūra, and Kalpa and the other Chedasūtras, embraced the Caranakaranānuyoga, the second the Dharmakathānuyoga, the third the Kālānuyoga, or Gaṇitānuyoga, and the fourth the Dravyānuyoga.]"

Page 2, note 1, line 3, for "MS. No. 613," read "MS. No. 617."

Page 4, note 3, for "pp. 191, 192, read "pp. 190, 191."

Page 6, line 30, "Uçarata." The Uçarata story reminds me of the *apraçikha* story in the Kathāprakāṇa ; see Gurupūjākaumudi, p. 123 ; and of the *viscmīrā* story in Indische Studien, XV., p. 301 and ff. (Z.). I may extend this note of Professor Zachariae's by the help of some remarks of his on the 15th story of the Siddhi-Kür, where he quotes from Professor Eggeling's article in the Gurupūjākaumudi. "In the time of Bhojarāja there lived in Ujjayini a Brahman, who, because he did not receive as much honour as Kālidūsa, set out on a journey with his servant, who was of the same caste as himself. He came to the king of Kālañjara, waited upon him respectfully (*lasmai cikhā dattā*), and was dismissed by him with rich presents. On his journey home he lay down under the shade of a fig-tree, and went to sleep. Then avarice awoke in the breast of the servant, and planting his foot upon the scalp-lock of the sleeper, he drew his sword to cut off his head. In the meanwhile his master was awokened by the pain, and when he saw what was going on, he offered all his gold to the servant, and promised to leave his native land for ever. But, when his servant would not consent to spare his life on those terms, he entreated him, at any rate, to take back a message to his father-consisting of the syllables *apraçikhāh*. The miscreant consented, and then

dealt him a mortal blow. However, the father could make nothing of the message, and asked counsel of the king, as being a *caturdaçavidyānidānam* (i.e. a master of the fourteen sciences), but neither the king nor Kālidāsa, nor any one of the other learned men could help him. Then the king became despondent and refused all nourishment. But a learned man, of the name of Vararuci, who could not bear to endure the reproach that the king was about to die on account of his ignorance, left the town. While he was passing the night on a fig-tree, he heard the solution of the mystery from a female jackal, who was telling her cubs the whole story, and explaining to them how the word *apraçikhāh* was made up of the initial letters of the four *pādās* (i.e. quarters) of this tell-tale couplet :

*Anena tava putrasya prasuptasya vanāntare
Cikhām akramya pādena khadgena nihataṁ ciraḥ.*

‘This man planted his foot upon the lock of hair on the crown of your son, while he was asleep in the wood, and cut off his head with his sword.’ So the crime came to light, and the goods of the murderer were confiscated, and he was banished from the country—the most severe punishment that could be inflicted on a Brahman.’

I take the explanation of the expression *visemirā* from another paper of Professor Zachariae on *Siddhi-Kiir*, XV., in which he gives a short abstract of a story in the Jain recension of the *Sīmāsanadvātrīnīcikā* (Weber, *Indische Studien*, XV., p. 301 and ff.).

In Viçālā ruled a king by name Nanda, his son was called Vijayapāla, his minister Bahuçruta. The *guru* (teacher) of the king, the wise Çāradā-nanda, was supposed to have been put to death by Bahuçruta, on account of a groundless suspicion that the king entertained against him. But the minister, with wise prevision, had not really put him to death, but had hidden him in an underground room in his house.

One day Prince Vijayapāla went out hunting and lost his way. Being chased by a tiger, he took refuge in a tree. This tree was inhabited by an ape, in the body of which dwelt the god of the tree. The prince was hospitably received by the ape, and when night came on he lay down to rest in the lap of the ape. In vain did the tiger, which was keeping watch under the tree, try to persuade the ape to throw the prince down. After some time the parts were reversed, and the ape went to sleep in the prince’s lap. The tiger cautioned the prince against the ape. Accordingly the prince, overmastered by fear, let the ape fall, but in his fall he was caught in a bough, and remained hanging there. Then the prince was ashamed of his action. But the ape said, “Do not be afraid, prince, of me! You show that you are conscious of what an enormity you have committed.” Then the morning broke, and the tiger went away. The

deity that animated the ape taught the prince the four syllables, *ri se mi rā*, in order to inform the world in general of the real state of affairs, and made him get down from the tree. No sooner had the prince learnt the syllables than he became crazy, and wandered about in the wood. There, at last, he was found by the king, who had gone out with his servants to look for him. The prince was quite distracted, and only kept repeating to himself the syllables *ri se mi rā*. In vain did they attempt to restore him to reason, with all possible expedients, charms and medicinal herbs. Then the king began to regret the wise Āradānanda, whom he had ordered to be put to death. The minister advised him not to cry over spilt milk, but to proclaim in the city that whoever restored the prince to health should obtain the half of the kingdom. By the advice of Āradānanda the minister then informed the king that he had in his house a girl seven years old who, if she saw the prince, would discover a means of curing him. The king went with the prince into the house of the minister, where Āradānanda was hidden behind a curtain. Then Āradānanda repeated four Sanskrit verses, beginning respectively with *riçrāsa*, *setum gatrā*, *mītradrohī*, *rājantsvāmī* (of which the first three denounced treachery, while the last recommended that the crime should be expiated by gifts.) The prince uttered one of the syllables *ri*, *se*, *mi*, *rā*, at the end of each verse, and when the fourth verse was finished, entirely recovered his reason, and related his adventure in the wood. All the hearers were astonished. The king discovered Āradānanda behind the curtain, prostrated himself before him, and praised the prudence of his minister, who had saved him from the sin of killing a Brahman, and had preserved the life of the prince into the bargain.

Page 7, line 12, "The son-in-law's revision."

On the son-in-law's revision compare Molesworth s.v. *jāmvaī çodh* (Z.). Molesworth gives the following explanation, "A phrase founded on a popular story to express the examination of a piece of composition by a shallow-witted fellow, incapable of discerning its merit." The proverb is otherwise explained by Manwaring (No. 1392), as Dr. Sten Konow pointed out to me. Molesworth's explanation fits in admirably with Merutunga's story.

Line 27, "A merchant named Dānta." This story will be found in the *Sinhāsanadvātrīmīcikā*; Weber, Ind. Stud., XV., p. 433 and ff. The fact of Vikramāditya's obtaining control of the vampire Agnivetāla and a golden man is stated in the *Prabandhakoṣa*, 182. (Bühler MS., 294.)

Page 8, line 16, "A very thin iron doll, representing poverty." See Weber, Über die *Sinhāsanadvātrīmīcikā*, Ind. Stud., p. 437 and ff. for this story of the "Armuthsstatue."

Page 9, line 24, "I am about to rip open my stomach and show you an entrail of that kind." Cf. *Simhāsanadvātrinūcikā*, Weber, Ind. Stud., p. 427, where the professor remarks, "Das Eingeweidenetz in deinem Leibe ist scheckig."

Page 10, line 10, "The occurrence is thus described."

It is related in a somewhat different manner in the *Prabandhakoṣa* (Bühler MS., No. 294), 173-174. For the *paṭṭahastin* we have a *paṭṭācva*.

Page 11. Some of the verses quoted at page 15 of the text (translation, p. 11 f.) are given also in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, ed. Peterson, No. 2452 ff. (Z.).

Page 12, line 6, "Thy right hand is a sea."

Perhaps better in one sentence, "Thy arm is a southern sea, quick to remind men of the might of Rāma." There is a *çlesha* in *samudra*, which also means "marked by lines." The previous line also contains a punning allusion to the rivers *Sarasvatī* and *Çoṇa* (Th.).

Page 14, last line of the text, "As king Çātavāhana, &c." In the *Prabandhakoṣa*, 141, we are told that he was called Çātavāhana, because, when playing with his boyish companions, he gave as a king *vāhanāni* *karituragararathāni* *kṛtrīmāni* to them.

Page 15, line 1, "He saw in the river near the city a certain fish." In the *Prabandhakoṣa*, 158, 159, the story of the laughing fish is told in a slightly different form.

Line 28, "Had a book made which was a treasury of *gāthās*." Cf. *Prabandhakoṣa*, 156. *Ekasmīn dīne daṣakoṭayo gāthāḥ sampannāḥ*; *Sātavāhanakaṣṭram tāt kṛtaṁ*.

Page 18, line 2, "Then a *pañcakula* came." You know, of course, that *pañcakula* occurs in the *Harsacarita*, and on inscriptions. Perhaps also *pañcakūla*, Ind. Stud., XVIII., p. 314, belongs here (Z.). The reference to the *Harsacarita* is p. 280 of the translation by Cowell and Thomas, where other references are given. I had noted this reference, but it was omitted by an oversight.

Line 14, for *Pipalutā* read *Pipalulā*.

Line 18, "Jāli-tree." A "Jāl" tree is mentioned in the *Bhūt Nibandha* translated by Alexander Kinloch Forbes (p. 20), in connection with the superstition of the "Rag-uncle."

Note 2. The village referred to is in Jodhpur in *Rājputānā*. See *Epigraphia Indica*, v. 208 and ff. (F.).

Page 27, line 16. Someçvara in his *Kirtikaumudi* II., 4, has

*Sapattrākṛtaçatrūṇāṁ samparāye svapattrīṇāṁ,
Maheçchakacchhabhūpūlāṁ Lakṣāṁ laksīcakāra yah.*

No doubt the word *Maheçcha* here means ambitious, but the coincidence is curious.

Page 29, line 9, "Since he pierced even the circle of the sun." Kāthavaṭe on Someçvara's Kirtikaumudi, V., 29, quotes the following lines:—

*Drārimanu puruṣau loke sūryamāṇḍalabhedinau,
Yatīryoṣavimuktātmā yaçca çūro rāṇe hataḥ.*

Page 35, line 25, "The sea for a moat." Cp. Hanumannaṭaka or Mahū-nāṭaka (Bombay, 1886), p. 221, Act XIV., v. 48:—

*Durgāmū Trīkūṭaḥ parikhā samudro rakṣāmīsi yodhā Dhanadaçca vittam
Sañjīcanī yasya mukhāgraridyā sa Rāvaṇaḥ kālavaçād vinaṣṭaḥ.*

Page 37, line 10 (Edition, p. 65, 7). This verse is as old as king Avantivarman of Kaçmīr, see Rājatarāṅgini, quoted in Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche, 552 (Z.). The verse is found v. 36 of Troyer's edition, and also of Dr. Stein's. It is ascribed to Kṛtamandāra. Avantivarman came to the throne in 855 A.D. (Duff, Indian Chronology).

Page 40, line 7 (Text, p. 70, l. 3). Himālaya, &c., is from Kumārasambhava I., 1; and *pravālaçayācarāṇam* *çarīram* from Kumārasambhava, III., 8 (Z.).

Page 41, line 18, "Bhīma was created, &c." The Sanskrit text contains a punning reference to Bhoja, who also was the son of Andhaka, sc. of the blind. The tradition referred to above (p. 32, note 1) is therefore old (Th.).

Page 42, line 6, "While I am shrivelled up with cold." On the authorship and reading of this verse, cp. Peterson on the Aucityālaṅkāra of Kṣemendra (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, XVI., p. 169) (Th.). Peterson tells us that Matrgupta is given as the author in Rājatarāṅgini III., 181, and in the Subhāṣitāvali. Kṣemendra ascribes it to Kārpaṭika, which may be a synonym of Mātṛgupta, as being an aspirant for the king's favour. Peterson reads *adhyuṣitasya*. Dr. Stein reads *Çitenoddhṛṣitasya*. In the Pañcatantra, Book I., story 18, p. 100 (ed. Kielhorn), we read that the ape was *vātāsārasamāhataḥ* *proddhūṣitācariro* *dantariṇām* *vālāyan*.

Page 44, line 20 (text, p. 77, 3), "The Cola king." This stanza is found in the Kāvyānuçāsana (see Kāvyamālā, No. 43), p. 25, prop. fin. (Z.).

Page 45, line 26. For "practise" read "practice."

Add to note 2. Rādhā denotes the butt or mark; Rādhā is after all "the aim" personified. In Prakrit the *rādhā* is generally called *puttaliyā*, literally "a little figure," as apparently a little human figure was painted in the middle of the butt (L.).

Ibid., line 2, for "Böhtlingk and Roth" read "Böhtlingk."

Page 46, line 3 (text, p. 79, 13). Compare Kavyānuçāvana, p. 27, 8 (Z.). Here we find the following :—

*Prajñāpuñja mayā jñānam (jñātam?) Rādhāvedhasya kāraṇam
Dhārāyāḥ vīparītasya nūnam na kshamate prabhuh.*

Page 55, line 8 (text, 92, 9). This is quoted in the Kāvyānuçāsana (see Kāvyamālā, No. 43), p. 11, 6; the first line is quoted in the commentary on the Mañkhakoça, s.v. *kāraṇa* (Z.). The edition referred to is that of Professor Zachariae, Vienna, 1890.

Page 55, line 23 (text, p. 93, 6), "They take grass in their mouths." This is an allusion to a most ancient custom. Cp. Harṣacarita, 132, 11 (Commentary, *trṇam kātarair mukhe dhriyate*), Cāṇḍakauçīka, 3rd Act : Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, 382 ff.; Grimm Rechtsalterthümer, p. 121 ff.; 604, 205, 431 (Z.). The passage referred to in the Harṣacarita will be found at the page indicated, in the Bombay edition of 1892. Cowell and Thomas, in their translation, p. 101, note 4, say, "To carry a straw in the mouth was a sign of surrender; cf. Acworth's Maratha Ballads, p. 43 :—

"And 'twixt the teeth a straw is fit
For eurs who arm but to submit."

Liebrecht quotes from Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, "Whoever wishes to appease the anger of an opponent takes a straw or a blade of grass in his mouth, and at the same time stands on one leg." Liebrecht finds traces of the custom in Europe. An extract which he makes from Campbell's Popular Tales of the Western Highlands (II., 304) is particularly interesting, "He went to the fair and he took a straw in his mouth, to show that he was for taking service." It was, I believe, the custom in England in old times, for people who wished to be hired as false witnesses, to sit with straws in their mouths. The reference in the Cāṇḍakauçīka will be found in the Bombay edition of 1860 on fol. 11a (last line of the page), and on page 69 of the Calcutta edition of 1884. When Hariçandra wishes to sell himself as a slave, the stage direction is "cīrasi trṇam kṛtvā."

Page 56, add to note 1. See also the Jātakamālā (ed. Kern) Yajñajātakam, cloka 13.

Add to note 3. The story of the exit from the temple is very similar to a story in the Chahār Maqāla of Nidhāmī-i-Arūḍī-i-Samarqandi, translated into English by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1899, p. 798). Anecdote XXIII. begins as follows :—"It is stated that once when Sultan Mahmūd bin Nāsirūd-Dīn was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned

his head to Abu Rayhān and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out? (for all four were practicable). Decide, and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abu Rayhān called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, worked out the ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Mahmūd. He answered "Yes."

Then Mahmūd bade them make an opening in the wall, and they brought mattocks and spades, and in the wall which was on the eastern side dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it was written: "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door on the side of the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." The author of the *Chahār Maqāla* was born towards the end of the eleventh century of our era: so he, at any rate, cannot be the borrower.

Page 57, add to note 4. The *Rṣabhapañcācikā* has been edited by Klatt in the journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. 33, p. 445, and in the *Kārvyamālā*, part VII. (Z.)

Add to note 6. The word *khaṭṭaka* is found in Appendix A. to Kāthavaṭe's edition of Someṭvara's *Kirtikāumudi*, stanza 64. Professor Kāthavaṭe, remarking on the compound *rimalūcmakhaṭṭakayutāḥ*, says "I do not understand the meaning of *khaṭṭaka*. It may be an adaptation of *takht*. If so, the adjective may mean with thrones of white marble."

Page 58, line 10 (text, p. 96, l. 12), this is *Subhāṣitārālī*, 2399 (Z.).

Page 60, add to note 1. These lines appear in Hanumānāṭaka or Mahānāṭaka, Act XIV., stanza 49 (Bombay edition of 1886) in the following form:

*Iha khalu viṣamaḥ purākṛtanāṁ
Bharalī hi janluṣu karmaṇāṁ vipākaḥ
Çiraçirasi cīrāṁsi yāni rejuḥ
Çira Çira tāni luṣhanti gṛdhrapādaiḥ.*

Page 61, lines 7 and 8 (text, page 100, ll. 7 and 8). Perhaps we have here puns in *loha* (also Sanskrit *loha*, "steel,") and *akkhara* (=Skr. *akṣara*, "sword.") *Pātāla* in the second line means the subterranean world, as the world of *riches*. Bhoja was a mere pettifogging huckster in gold as compared with the lord of treasures, the hero of the story. *Pātāla*, with this implication (=asuravivara), is used by the commentator on the passage in *Harsacarita*, corresponding to translation, p. 82, l. 24, "treasure-seekers, the mine"; cf. the note to 33, n. 3, in Appendix B., p. 268 (Th.).

Page 62, add to note 3. The *Caturvīṁcikā* of Çobhana has been

printed in the *Kāvyamālā*, part VII. Compare also *Zeitschrift der morg. Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXII., p. 510 (Z.).

Page 64, line 20 (text, p. 105, line 3 from the bottom), *Krcatānu* is a vocative. See *Subhāsitāvalī*, 1612, and especially *Çārṇgadharapaddhati*, 3713 (Z.).

In *Çārṇgadharapaddhati*, 3713, *Çaçimukhi* is substituted for *krcatānu*.

The fourth line is also found in *Subhāsitāvalī*, 1603.

Page 69, line 6, "Those two citrons." The story of the citrons seems to be a parallel to (or a variant of) the wide-spread story of "the wandering fruit," for which see Weber's *Ind. Stud.*, Vol XV., p. 212, ff. (Z.).

Page 70, last line but one, for "three" read "threw."

Page 71, line 17, for "great river" read "the river Mahī."

Add to note 4. The river Mahī is no doubt the Mhye of our maps, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay. It does rise somewhere near Dhārā.

82, line 28, for *Ambāda* read *Āmbāda*.

Page 84, n. 5. Here are some more references: *Harsacarita* (ed. Bombay, 1892), p. 157, 1; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, translation by Rhys-Davids, p. 131 and p. 165; *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 142, 7 [translation, page 85, last line of the page]; *Vessantara Jātāka*, Hardy, *Manual*, 166 ff.; *Āpastamba*, *Dharmasūtra* II., 4, 9, 8; Colebrooke, *Essays*, second edition, Madras, 1872, vol. I., page 178; translation of the *Katbā Sarit Sāgara*, vol. II., p. 502 n*, and Vol. I., p. 352; Kearn's *Marriage Ceremonies of the Hindus of South India*, Madras, 1868, p. 57 (Z.).

In Hardy's *Manual* (edition of 1853) see especially p. 121.

Page 88, lines 19 and 20 (text, p. 147, 5): *sandhi*, *vigraha* and *ākhyāta* are to be taken also as grammatical, technical terms. Compare the commentary on the *Anekārthasaṅgraha* II., 250, and III., 234 (Z.).

Page 96, line 8, insert "the" before "Abhīras."

Note 4, for *B. and R. in their shorter Dictionary* read *Bohtlingk in his shorter Dictionary*.

Page 98, lines 22 and ff. These lines, in a slightly different form, are attributed by the author of the *Prabandhakosa* to Hanumān (Bühler MS., No. 294, p. 185).

Page 100, note 1, *akṣapaṭala*, cp. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, pp. 94, 95. Hall, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 27, p. 228, 235, note (Z.). Bühler tells us that the keepers of the archives in the royal chancelleries were called *akṣapaṭalika*, *akṣaçālika*, *akṣaçālin*. Hall seems to think that *akṣapaṭalika* may mean the man who has cognizance of the *paṭala*, litigation, of *akṣa*, judicial cases; or does *paṭala* mean filing?

Add to note 4. Perhaps the six philosophies are not those cited, but those of Haribhadra's *Ṣaddarçanasamuccaya*, viz., *Bauddha*, *Nyāya*, *Sāṃkhya*, *Jaina*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Jaiminiya* (Th.).

Page 103, line 27, "Whose favour," &c., or punningly, "Whose mental clearness his views (*darçana*) seem to proclaim." (Th.)

Note 3. If we keep *ahimaruçih*, will not this mean *açīçiraraçmi*, the sun? (Th.) I think that Mr. Thomas's view is correct. I find that *Devasūri* is referred to in a commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* as *Jivadevasūri*, the victor of the *Digambara Kumudacandra*. A *Devasūri* is in the same work spoken of as the author of the *Çāntistava*. *Bhāṇḍārkar's Report* for 1883-84, p. 141.

In Peterson's fourth report, p. Ivi., will be found an account of *Devasūri*, who disputed with *Kumudacandra*. He quotes from Klait, *Indian Antiquary* XI., p. 254, "Devasūri was born *Samvat* 1143; *dīkṣā* 1152, *sūriyāda*, 1174, *svarga*, 1226."

Page 105, note 3. This enumeration of the *fourteen divisions of knowledge* is often met with in the *Jaina* literature. There are two çlokas containing the list in p. 13 of the Appendices to Professor Jacobi's edition of the *Pariçistaparvan*. While the *Jainas* invariably speak of *coddasa rījāsthānāni* or *caturdaça rīdyāsthānāni*, the *Buddhists* know of a wider range of knowledge, as they mention *eighteen divisions*, *aṭṭhārasa vijjā-thānāni*, cf. *Jātaka* No. 80, ed. p. 356 (L.) In the *Milinda Pañha* nineteen sippas are enumerated. Professor Rhys-Davids, in note 3 to p. 6 of his translation, tells us that the number is usually given as eighteen.

Page 109, line 5, "A Kṣatriya of the *Jhālā* family, named *Māngū*." The first part of the story of *Māngū* seems to have some connection with an old tradition that speaks of the greediness of the patriarch *Māngu* (L.)

Page 113, l. 191, for "water donation" read "water of donation"

Page 115, lines 5 and 6 (text, p. 189, l. 6). This couplet=Bühler's H.C. 67, stanza 19, *Mahendra* on *Hemacandra Anekārthasāṅgraha* II., 437, explains *mātrā* by *akṣarārayava* and *alpa* (Z.).

Lines 7 and 8. Perhaps "pretences" (*Bhaygi*) "of good fortune" (in reference to conquered potentates); "meanderings," also punningly "devious or crooked ways," *cunning* (Th.).

Line 11. "On account of," etc. Does not *pāṇīyūçayaçosanaiḥ* go with *matsī rodīti*, *karataṭo* with *makṣikā* (bee) *ca hasati*, *vīravraṇākāṅkṣayā* with *dhyāyanti tāmā striyāḥ*, by the figure *yathāsaykhyā*? (Th.)

Note 4. I think the *Bombay* edition is quite right. Cp. *Mahendra* on the *Anekārthasāṅgraha*, I., 10, where he explains *mā* in *Mālavamāṭra* (Bühler, H. C., 67, st. 26) by *Lakṣmī*. I believe *mā-Lakṣmī* is derived from *Mādhava*=*Lakṣmīpati*=*Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa* (Z.).

Page 124, lines 18 and 19 read :—

Let us eat what we receive as alms ! let us wear old garments !

Let us sleep on the bare earth ! What should we have to do with kings ?

Page 129, line 4 from bottom. Before Siddhānta “³” should be inserted.

Page 150, note 3. For *Brahmarandra* read *Brahmarandhra*.

Page 154, line 8. “Conquered the king of the Mlecchas.” See Someçvara’s *Kirtikaumudi*, II, 56-58.

Note 8, *Paññakila* occurs on inscriptions ; see e.g. *Epigraphia Indica*, III., 47 ; Kielhorn (*Indian Antiquary*, XIV., 161) has a reference to *Hall*, *Journal American Oriental Society*, VII., 40 (not accessible to me at present) (Z). Hall seems to think that the word comes by metathesis from *paññala*, which corresponds to canton, *mahal*, or *pargana*. Probably the jurisdiction of this officer was wider than at present, though even now he has sometimes three or four villages under him.

Page 170, line 25. “She became pregnant.” Cp. *The Faery Queene*, Book III., Cant. vi., st. 7 ; *Hamlet* III., 2, 185 : “Let her not walk i’ the sun.”

Page 172, add to note 1. It appears from Peterson’s Fourth Report, page 4, that Mallavādyācārya wrote a commentary on Dharmottara’s *Nyāyabindutikā*.

Page 173. Add to note 5. For the word *kundalikā* see Jones, MS. No. 9, *Bhavishyottarapurāna*, 259a and 5b (the first in Indian numbers, the second in English pencilled figures).

Page 175, note 3 (*pañcaabda*). Compare Sādhukirti’s *Çeṣasāmgrahanāmālā*, II, 141 :

Āhatam anāhatam dandakarāhatam
Vātāhatam kāmsālādi kañṭhādyam paññahādikam
Vinādikam ca bheryādi paññacaabdam idam smṛtam
 (from a Puna MS.) (Z).

Pages 181-183. On the story of Lakṣmaṇasena and Umāpatidhara compare Pischel, die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena, Göttingen, 1893, pp. 8 and 9 (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Vol. XXXIX.) (Z).

Pischel tells us that, according to the scholiast E. of the *Gitagovinda* (Lassen, p. 72), Umāpatidhara, the contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena was a physician, *vaidya* (I should say that he belonged to the Vaidya caste). The same authority tells us also that the stanza beginning *caityam nāma* (“Coolness indeed”), is ascribed by Kavibhāṭṭa, *Padyasangraha*, 17 (Häberlin’s Anthology, p. 531, f.), to Lakṣmaṇasena ; the third, *çinnam Brahmaciro-yadi*, is ascribed by Cāryagdhara to Dhī (probably Kavirāja to Lakṣmaṇasena). The stanza beginning *tvam cet samcarase* (If you ride on a bull, &c.)

has been found quoted by Professor Pischel in Çobhākara Alajkārāratnākara, foll. 30a and 64b (MS. Det. Rep., No. 227, now=Çridhar R. Bhāṇḍārkar, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College, Bombay, 1888, p. 85, No. 227). Professor Pischel thinks that Çobhākara is later than Ruyyaka, who flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century. It is interesting, as Professor Pischel remarks, to note that other authorities besides Merutunga ascribe two of the stanzas to the time of Lakṣmaṇasena.

Page 184, note 2, *dele* "i.q. Gaṅgā."

Page 187, line 24. For *Kaitabha* read *Kaiṭabha*.

Page 193. The story of Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu is given in the Rśimāṇḍalaprakaranavṛtti (See Bhāṇḍārkar's Report for 1883-84, pp. 131-132). According to this account Varāha was originally a Jain, but because his brother would not give him the Sūripada, he put on the habiliments of a Brāhmaṇa, and composed new Čāstras, such as the Varāhasamhitā. The rest of the story agrees pretty nearly with Merutunga's account. Eventually he received the Bhāgavati dīkṣā. When he died he became, on account of his wicked deeds, a ghost with a great hatred for the Jainas and troubled the laymen of that sect. To lay him, Bhadrabāhu composed the Upasargaharastotra, for men to repeat it, and even now it is repeated to put down any troubles.

Page 194, last line of the page. "The teacher Pādalipta in the town of Pādalipta." See Bhāṇḍārkar's Report for 1883-84, p. 142. "Pādaliptācārya flew through the sky by means of a certain ointment applied to the feet, and visited the shrines of Çatruñjaya, Girnār, Abū, Aṣṭāpada and Sammeta."

Pages 196-97. For the story of Abhayadevasūri compare Peterson's Third Report, page 25, and Appendix, page 245; and Fourth Report, page v. The Jayatihuyanastotra of Abhayadevasūri is still preserved in manuscript; it is said to have been composed in Samvat 1111. Compare also Weber, Verzeichniss der Berliner Sanskrit-handschriften, Vol. II., p. 1039 (Z). One point in Peterson's account of Abhayadevasūri is of special interest. He tells us that he "composed on the spur of the moment thirty-two verses. But the goddess perceived that the last two verses were of an awful power to control the gods, and besought him to content himself with the thirty." Dr. Peterson assures us that "the image of Pārvatā is still worshipped in Cambay by the faithful." See also Bhāṇḍārkar's Report of 1883-84, page 141.

Page 202, lines 4 and 5. "However, one traveller even preferring death, would not leave the side of that cow." Cp. Weber, Über die Simhāsana-dvatrīmīcikā, Indische Studien, XV., p. 411 and ff.

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